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USSR Report

HUMAN RESOURCES

(FOUO 7/80)

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CONTENTS

LABOR

IMPACT OF TEAM LABOR ORGANIZATION ANALYZED

Moscow VOPROSY EKONOMIKI in Russian No 10, Oct 80 pp 26-36

[Article by S. Shkurko: "New Forms of Team Organization and Stimulation of Labor"]

[Text] Further intensification of production in accordance with the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving Planning and Strengthening the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Increasing Production Efficiency and Work Quality" (1979) presupposes extensive introduction of team forms of labor organization and stimulation. How can we explain the turn from individual to team forms of labor organization, and what is the source of their positive influence upon the economy?

The actual use of team forms of labor organization and stimulation in the main industrial sectors can be described today by the data in the table below.

Industrial Sectors	Proportion of Workers Involved in Team Forms of Labor Organization and Stimulation (%) In Relation To:		
	Total Workers	Total Pieceworkers	Total Timeworkers
Coal	40	87	1
Ferrous metallurgy	34	55	10
Chemistry and petroleum refining	18	41	5
Construction materials	39	54	10
Machine building	25	38	10
Wood processing	53	75	6
Light (excluding textile)	21	27	4
Food	37	65	7

Thus it is only in wood processing industry that the proportion of workers involved in team forms of labor organization and stimulation somewhat exceeds 50 percent. In the remaining sectors this proportion is significantly lower. It is 25 percent in the machine building sector.

Despite new trends in the use of team forms of labor organization and stimulation that have appeared in recent years, these data generally support previously evolved scientific and practical notions concerning their application in industrial enterprises. The essence of these notions is that team forms of labor organization would require production processes for which individual labor organization is practically impossible. Examples of such situations may include collective maintenance of mining complexes, blast or open-hearth furnaces, multistation article working machine systems, flow lines, conveyers, and so on. It is precisely due to the unique features of such production processes that differences exist among the sectors in the number of laborers involved in team forms of labor organization and stimulation. Their application is widespread in coal industry because it employs coal combines and tunneling machines, in metallurgy because of the use of blast furnace, open-hearth furnace, and rolling equipment, and in food industry due to the use of large machine units and flow lines. Meanwhile the relatively low occurrence of team forms of labor organization and stimulation in machine building can be explained by extensive use of machine tools serviced by individual workers, and that in chemistry and petroleum refining can be explained by a high proportion of timeworkers involved in strictly scheduled instrumental production processes.

Inclusion, into a team, of either principal or auxiliary workers doing technologically homogeneous or technologically associated jobs is common to the team form of labor organization and compensation. The responsibilities of individual workers in such teams are usually spelled out rather precisely. This is typical of team labor organization based on the technological principle.

It would obviously be impossible to make the team form of labor organization the principal form within a relatively short time using just a technological approach to team organization alone, since only 20-40 percent of the workers of most sectors are involved in team forms of labor organization and stimulation, and the proportion of such workers must be raised by 1.5-2 times and more in the 11th Five-Year Plan. This task could be completed only by extensively introducing the progressive experience of using fundamentally new forms of team labor organization and stimulation, developed and applied in a number of the country's industrial enterprises in recent years. Among such enterprises, we should first mention the Volga Motor Vehicle Plant imeni 50-Letiye SSSR, the Ural Machine Building Plant, the Yuzhno-Ural'sk Machine Building Plant, the Kaluga Turbine Plant, and some others. Because new forms of teams have been introduced, practically all workers of the "AvtoVAZ" Association, more than 90 percent of the workers of the Kaluga Turbine Plant, more than 60 percent of the workers of the Yuzhno-Ural'sk Machine Building Plant, and more than 50 percent of the workers of the All-Union Industrial Association of Metallurgical Machine Building are involved in the team form of labor organization.

The main feature of such teams is that they include both principal and auxiliary workers--pieceworkers and timeworkers. The production space, equipment, and tools required for production are assigned to the teams. The teams distribute the jobs among their members, they maintain job and product quality control, and they perform other functions associated with labor and production organization; they are

responsible for the production of a particular product satisfying technological, technical, qualitative, economic, and other production requirements. Such teams are the primary labor collectives, the grass-roots elements of production control. The team producing scintering carts at the Yuzhno-Ural'sk Machine Building Plant is an example. The team contains more than 60 persons, of whom 50 are principal workers and the rest are auxiliary. The team includes turners, drill operators, planers, grinders, fitter-assemblers, markers, electric welders, crane operators, packers, slingers, and workers responsible for cleaning up the production area--in a word, workers of all occupations and specialties necessary for production of the given product.

Introduction of new forms of team labor organization and stimulation requires objective changes in production. In response to scientific-technical progress, the labor of the workers becomes increasingly more collective, and it becomes concentrated about large units and machine systems, and continuous production lines. Industrial enterprises are being saturated with advanced, highly productive, complex equipment and production processes, but still, low-skilled and unskilled manual labor still persists in many operations, which is making it extremely important to organize labor in such a way as to eliminate this negative aspect of production. The growing interdependence of numerous production and labor processes objectively presupposes strict proportionality in every element of production, no matter how small it may be. Auxiliary processes and jobs are tied intimately in with the principal processes and jobs, and they merge with them into a single whole in individual production sections. Production control is becoming more complex in connection with the increasing complexity of the products being manufactured and the increasing number of links in the production chains. The qualitative change in the composition of the work force, resulting from recruitment of young workers of a higher general cultural and technical level, is raising the requirements on the content of the work. Concurrently with growth in occupational proficiency, the laborers are experiencing growth in ideological-political maturity, and in their capability and desire to actively participate in production control. Practice has shown that under these conditions the team form of labor organization has a number of advantages over the individual form, and that it permits successful solution of many complex economic, organizational, and social problems associated with production.

The interests of the team members are subordinated to the common task--attaining a high end result, which is an indicator of their activity and the criterion by which it is evaluated, and which defines the particular pay level. The team form of labor organization raises responsibility of each worker and of the collective as a whole for the work results, it increases the demands imposed upon the individual and fellow workers, it intensifies collectivism and mutual assistance in work, it encourages an active attitude toward work, it expands public surveillance over production results, and it increases the possibility each worker has for making his contribution to improving labor and production organization. As a rule decisions reached collectively by the teams are fulfilled unquestioningly by the team members, and if friction arises in mutual relationships between individual workers and the team, the problems are quickly corrected.

The noted social advantages of the team form of labor organization permit implementation of many reserves that are not useable with individual labor organization. Significant improvements are achieved in labor specialization and cooperation, combination of occupations and multimachine maintenance are introduced extensively into

the work of the teams, the labor of auxiliary workers becomes more productive, and the distribution of jobs among production participants improves. Transition to team forms of labor organization and stimulation promotes favorable conditions for quick and good occupational training of young workers. Because occupations are combined, because workers become interchangeable, and because of other changes in the work process, the work becomes fuller and more attractive and the potentials of the modern laborer are realized more deeply.

Here are a few examples of the economic advantages of team forms of labor organization and stimulation. In 1 year of work following transition to the team form of labor organization and compensation in the bushings section of the Berislav Machine Building Plant imeni 60-Letiye Velikoy Oktyabr'skoy Sotsialisticheskoy Revolyutsii, the production volume increased by 17.8 percent, output per worker increased by 31.5 percent, and the losses of working time decreased by 13.3 percent. Losses due to waste were decreased fivefold in the merchant shapes milling shop of the Ural Machine Building Plant following organization of integrated teams. Transition to team labor organization at the Kaluga Turbine Plant made it possible to reduce the length of rejected seam sections by a factor of 1.7, the number of cracks in welded seams decreased almost fourfold, and the total number of faults detected in fitting and welding jobs were halved. Wages are growing in connection with improvements in work indicators. While labor productivity has risen by 10-15 percent, the wages of the workers have increased by 7-10 percent.

However, this does not mean that there are no shortcomings or unsolved problems in the practice of team forms of labor organization and stimulation. They do exist, and they do reduce the effectiveness of such work organization and compensation, and they require that we arrive at the proper concepts of the use of such forms.

When implementing measures aimed at extensive introduction of new forms of team labor organization and stimulation, we must avoid a mechanical, indiscriminant, purely administrative approach to introducing team organization and wages based on planned targets set for the enterprises from above, orienting ourselves only upon selected data demonstrating this form to be highly effective. Experience has shown that different forms of labor organization and compensation are effective with different technical, organizational, economic, social, and other production conditions. Artificial implantation of particular forms of labor organization and compensation without thoroughly assessing the production conditions and without making the necessary preparations for their introduction often produces a result contrary to that desired, and in the end it fails to raise the effectiveness of the work. This is why determination of the production conditions within which the new forms of team labor organization and stimulation are effective is the most important theoretical and practical issue associated with introducing these new forms of organization and stimulation. Only after resolving this issue can we go on to active introduction of the team form of labor organization, and predict and plan its introduction with scientific grounds.

An analysis of the new forms of team organization and stimulation of labor would lead to the conclusion that they may be used effectively in small production sections in which the manufacture of a particular product proceeds independently--a finished article, a unit, a part, and so on. Such sections are typified by a closed production process, and by machine units, equipment, machine tools, and tools brought together into a single production process; production requires a certain sequence of

jobs involving raw material processing, part working, and article assembly; the workers are united by a common interest in production irrespective of the jobs they perform.

Moreover the specific production conditions must be accounted for prior to making a final decision as to introducing the team form of labor organization. Disproportions can exist within a microsection in regard to the load experienced by particular pieces of equipment and workers. When individual labor organization is employed in such a section, periods of idleness and partial loading of the workers during the work shift arise; bottlenecks may develop in production, requiring concentration of workers upon particular jobs from time to time.

Production may be typified by complex labor cooperation within the section due to simultaneous performance of many jobs and operations contained within the overall production system. Under such conditions a slowdown at one workplace may cause the entire production system to fall apart, if this slowdown is not rectified by collective efforts.

Jobs in a microsection may vary in their intensity, and they may be affected by different qualitative labor norms. As a result some jobs become "profitable" while others become "unprofitable", some occupations become "attractive" while others become "unattractive". With individual labor organization, this leads to disproportions in the volume of parts (articles) produced, and it hinders attainment of the end result. Interruptions in the work, dissatisfaction with the work, presence of "profitable" and "unprofitable" jobs, and other shortcomings in labor organization weaken production and labor discipline and promote deterioration of work quality and incomplete utilization of manpower and materiel. These difficulties can be overcome only by encouraging the workers themselves, united into teams, to participate extensively in control over labor and production.

Obviously the specific production conditions examined here manifest themselves differently in different microsections, and not always simultaneously. Practice has shown that such conditions may be encountered in both individual and mass production, and in raw material extraction sectors and processing sectors. Therefore it is no accident that the new forms of team labor organization and stimulation have enjoyed application in different sectors and production operations, in the logging operations of lumber industry, in mechanical part working and assembly in heavy machine building, in electric power engineering, in installation operations, and so on.

Thus before we can decide whether or not to introduce new forms of team labor organization into the given section, or the enterprise as a whole, we must subject the production conditions to full analysis. If the production and other conditions do not fully meet the requirements of team labor organization, we would have to develop and implement a complex of measures aimed at altering production in such a way as to create microsections employing closed production processes.

The second theoretical and practical issue associated with introducing the new forms of team organization and stimulation of labor is that of determining the conditions for their effective application--that is, determining how to form the teams, how to plan, evaluate, and stimulate their work, how to compute and distribute the collective income, how to organize competition, and how to control the activity of the teams.

Practice has shown that this area also requires a new approach, that new concepts must be found and utilized, ones differing fundamentally from those applicable to teams organized purely according to the technological principle.

The general principle governing formation of teams of the new type is "production microsection--work force size--team". According to this principle, the teams must include all workers employed by the microsection, and the latter must offer the conditions for team organization. In addition to the general principle, we must also consider the particular principles of team formation.

The numerical composition of the teams must be determined with an eye on the existing labor norms and manning tables, and not in relation to the actual size of the work force that would be able to meet the planned production targets, given team labor organization. Experience has shown that this work force may often be 5, 10, or 15 percent smaller. Were we to orient ourselves upon it, the workers would not acquire a material interest in switching to the team form of labor organization, an interest created through liberation of some of the workers and an increase in average wages.

The composition of a team, in terms of occupations and skill levels, must be determined on the basis of the type, complexity, and volume of the jobs and a thorough consideration of the possibilities for combining occupations, for broadening the maintenance zones, and for switching to complete or partial interchangeability of workers in the work process. Combination of the occupations of principal and auxiliary workers, performance of piecework by timeworkers, and redistribution of heavy, unattractive, and unprofitable jobs among the workers are fundamentally new in this regard.

Correct determination of the social structure of a team is an important particular principle of formation of a production team. This issue does not have important significance to technological teams, since the form and content of mutual relationships existing among the team members are predetermined by the production process. If the team becomes a primary labor collective within which the workers resolve many production issues in community with one another, the success of their work depends in many ways on the social and psychosocial compatibility of the team members, on the social homogeneity of the team, and on the degree of dependence existing between the social structure of the team on one hand and the common production tasks and the nature of the work done on the other. Factors such as sex, age, level of general and occupational education, party membership, public activity, communicability, and so on must be accounted for when forming the teams.

Technological teams are organized by the enterprise administration itself. Teams of the new type are formed on a voluntary basis--that is, with the consent and desire of the workers. After all, the work itself may be performed using the previous forms of labor organization as well.

When we create teams in production microsections producing individual products that are finished (completed) in the given production stage (in the given system of labor division and cooperation), we are able to plan, evaluate, and stimulate the work of such sections in a fundamentally new way. Broad possibilities are opened up for introducing khozraschet principles into the teams. The end product--a unit, a complex of finished articles, a part, and so on--becomes the planning and accounting unit of production. In most cases the planning and khozraschet indicators set for teams are the same as those set for production sections: production volume in cost,

natural, or labor-based terms; article assortment; time and sequence of product output with a consideration for intraplant cooperation and whole-article production; the size of the work force, growth in labor productivity; the wage fund, average wages; production outlays associated with elements of production costs that could be accounted for at the team level; other indicators that can measure increases in effectiveness and quality. In addition to monthly plans, annual plans are set for the teams. Under these conditions the development, justification, and material-technical support of team plans become the main tasks of all services of the enterprise and of its trade union organization, since the success of the labor collective as a whole depends to a decisive degree upon how well these plans are fulfilled.

Team interest in high results may be increased significantly by developing and extensively introducing an integrated system for planning, evaluating, and stimulating the work of the teams, one which would synthesize the most important aspects of the best management experience accumulated by the best industrial enterprises in the last decade. I am referring to the Shchekino work method, to quantitative evaluation of work (production) quality as witnessed in the L'vov quality control system, to the use of the normative production output indicator following the example of the Sumy Machine Building Production Association imeni M. V. Frunze, to reexamination of labor norms at the initiative of the workers, to introducing integrated personal effectiveness accounts, and so on. The work indicators and assessment criteria contained in these and other progressive initiatives in many ways satisfy the requirements of improving the economic mechanism. They are all aimed at raising production effectiveness and work quality, and they permit us to organize effective stimulation of high plans and norms, as well as adoption of counterplans on par with those of the best labor collectives.

This system must consist of independent blocks representing the planning, assessment, and stimulation of the most important aspects of raising production effectiveness and work quality: improving the use of production capacities, increasing labor productivity, reducing labor outlays, upgrading products and job quality, reducing material outlays, and complying with the planned product assortment. For the purposes of an example we can consider the basic premises behind the block representing the planning, assessment, and stimulation of improved use of production capacities. It must spell out the method for determining the normative production capacity indicator for the team--that is, the optimum product volume that may be achieved with the production equipment and production space assigned to the labor collective. Next it should demonstrate the way to compute, on the basis of a comparison of the normative parameters with the planning data and the actual work results, the indicator for the planned and actual use of the normative production capacity, and consequently how an evaluation of the work of the teams is arrived at. Finally, it should explain the means for tying in bonuses with the indicators for planned and actual use of the normative output capacity. The general relationship should be one of growth in the size of bonuses as the indicators approach their normative values.

The blocks of the integrated system may be used either together, all at once, or as individual groups with a consideration for the unique features of production. An aggregate evaluation of the work results of the teams may be arrived at on the basis of integrated personal effectiveness (economization) accounts, on analogy with those used today by many enterprises. The only difference here is that rather than the socialist pledges of surpassing (exceeding) the planned targets and norms, foreseen in the enterprise personal accounts, these should document the counterplans adopted by the teams in relation to all blocks of the integrated system.

This approach is made valid by the system of indicators used in each block to evaluate the work results; these indicators are normative in nature, and therefore they permit us to evaluate the planned and actual achievements of the teams, and equally so the counterplans they adopt, dependably and with economic grounds. As an example the production volume plan set for the team may be 80 percent of the normative production capacity, the plan adopted by the team and approved by it may be 85 percent of this capacity, while the actual results might be close to 86 percent of the normative value. In another example the work quality coefficient set for the team might be 0.85, the target adopted by the brigade and approved for it might be 0.87, while the actual coefficient might be 0.86. Obviously priorities must be placed in the material stimulation system on fulfillment of counterplans, and not on their overfulfillment.

Practical introduction of the integrated system of planning, evaluation, and stimulation would be a sound basis for arriving at a correct, economically grounded evaluation of the results of their work, and for effectively raising their interest in adopting counterplans and attaining the highest indicators of effectiveness and quality.

Correct resolution of issues associated with determining the dimensions of the collective earnings and especially with their distribution has a significant influence not only upon the team's activities and the psychosocial climate in the collective, but sometimes also even upon the very existence of the team. The material interests of the team and its members take shape, its interest in particular work indices is derived, and unification of collective and individual material interests enjoys its practical expression in the course of the computation and distribution of the earnings. Let us examine distribution of the collective earnings of the team among its members as one of the most complex problems.

Various methods are known for distributing a team's collective earnings. According to a survey of 6,828 teams conducted by the AUCCTU's Scientific Research Institute of the Higher School of the Trade Union Movement, 42.8 percent of the teams distributed their earnings according to pay scales accounting for different worker categories and the actual time worked; 10 percent of the teams distributed earnings on the basis of job categories and time worked; 14.4 percent of the teams distributed earnings on the basis of conditional categories--that is, categories set by the team itself; 3.7 percent of the teams divided their earnings equally; 1.8 percent of the teams divided the earnings on the basis of individual piecework claims, and 27.3 percent of the teams used factors describing the amount each worker participated in the work. In this case some of the teams used planned and actual work participation factors (PKTU and FKTU) when distributing the collective earnings. This distribution method, which differs fundamentally from all the rest, is a direct consequence of creation of the new type of team.

Prior to the transition to team labor organization, principal and auxiliary workers, both pieceworkers and timeworkers alike, received wages corresponding to their qualifications, output, work quality, and other indicators. It is entirely obvious that their labor contribution and earnings should not decrease when a transition is made to team work. On the contrary, utilization of the advantages of the new form of labor organization should cause an increase in the labor contribution and earnings of the workers. Thus the need has arisen for fixing the pay level attained by the workers at the time of transition to team organization, and for guaranteeing their

former wages if the work results are maintained at the same level, and higher wages if the work results improve.

The practical solution to this problem was to establish, for each team member, a PKTU computed as the average wages of the workers in the 3-6 months preceding transition to the team form of labor organization, divided by 100. If for example a worker had been receiving 200 rubles, then the PKTU would be 2, if his pay had been 180 rubles, the PKTU would be 1.8, and so on. Mention should be made of cases in which PKTU's having values representing above-average earnings may be set for certain workers during formation of a team; this may happen if the labor of such workers is to be more intense within a team, and if there had been shortcomings in the previous wage-setting conditions, due to which the wages of the workers were below normal.

However, the actual work results of the team members may increase or decrease in the future. A worker may raise his skill level and his labor productivity, he may assimilate associated operations, he may switch to multistation maintenance, and so on. At the same time certain workers may reduce their indicators, they may lower their effort, they may violate labor discipline, and so on. The actual results of the team members are accounted for with the help of the FKTU, which is a corrected PKTU. Practice shows that the FKTU corresponds to the planned labor participation factor for most workers. This can be explained by the fact that work does not become worse in teams, and that sustained changes occurring in work results are reflected by the PKTU. If for example a worker shifts to multistation maintenance, and consequently higher FKTU's are set for him over a period of several months, after a certain period of time the worker's PKTU would be set equivalent to the actual labor participation factor.

FKTU's reflecting the current labor successes of the workers are set monthly on the basis of the team's work results. As a rule they are documented in the form of a work agreement prepared by the team council, adopted by the majority and signed by all workers. It is on the basis of the FKTU and the amount of time worked by the team members that the collective earnings are distributed.

Some economists feel that this method of distributing collective earnings contradicts the principles of state regulation of wages, since it is not tied in with the pay ratios set by the wage system. However, the PKTU's, which are in fact at the basis of income distribution, are computed on the basis of the average earnings of the workers, which have evolved in turn on the basis of the existing wage system and wage ratios.

Experience shows that in the conditions afforded by the new forms of team labor organization, this method for distributing collective earnings insures correspondence between wages and the labor contribution made by the workers, active stimulation of constant improvement in work results, encouragement of workers promoting attainment of the team's overall success, and a material hand-slap for those having lower indicators and behaving in such a way as to threaten the overall results of the collective.

The question of optimizing the limits of a team's production independence and of creating special control organs in the teams--team councils--arises objectively in

connection with introduction of the new forms of team labor organization. Opinions have been suggested in the economic literature concerning the suitability of switching teams to self-administration and establishing contract relationships between teams and the administration, and on the impermissibility of the administration's intereference in the affairs of the team, expressed in particular as changing the production assortment and deadlines, temporarily moving workers to other sections, and hiring and firing workers without consent of the team.

The problem of optimizing the limits of a team's production independence must be resolved from the standpoint of an economically grounded combination of enterprise and team interests; in this case the team interests must be subordinated to the interests of the labor collective as a whole, and they should promote introduction of the achievements of scientific-technical progress, and an increase in effectiveness and quality. Otherwise certain aspects of the activities of the teams, their councils, and the team leaders may come into conflict with the interests of the labor collectives, which would hinder development of production. That this might happen when teams are switched to self-administration--that is, when they are given the right to independently resolve all production issues--is not excluded. After the initial period of work in the new way, following elimination of many shortcomings in labor division and cooperation, as a consequence of which productivity and wages rise significantly, the team may find itself uninterested in reviewing the norms, in introducing new equipment and production processes, or in replacing the old assortment of products by a new one, inasmuch as all of this would not promise any new advantages to the workers, and instead require additional work effort. When individual labor organization and technological teams are involved, the enterprise administration finds it relatively easy to implement such measures by requiring individual workers and teams to heed its decisions. If the production rights of teams of the new type become excessively broad, the administration may find itself weakened in this regard.

This is why it appears proper to retain, for the administration at the time of organization of the new type of teams, the unquestioning right to make changes in production aimed at its intensification and at insuring a high end result for the enterprise. This approach naturally presupposes discussion of the forthcoming production changes with the primary labor collective so that optimum decisions could be made and so that the teams would be encouraged to help implement the measures. Expansion of the production functions of the teams must not signify a decline in the responsibility carried by the administration and by all engineers and technicians for the fate of production.

The role of the foreman as a representative of the administration at the lowest level of production control must be fully retained. The foreman must bear the responsibility for making preparations for production, and for normal operation of the equipment, production processes, and the work force. The content of the work done by the foreman will change to some extent in teams of the new type. He will be relieved from having to deal with the inconsequential problems of the workers, from constantly resolving the many inconsistencies in division and cooperation of labor, from compiling the numerous accounting documents and records, and so on. At the same time the significance of his engineering functions grows, and the requirements on his knowledge and qualifications rise, in connection with which a possibility arises for increasing the number of workers per foreman, and the relationship the foreman maintains with the team and the team leader changes. Engineering and

technical work, and control of the production process becomes the main concern of the foreman; labor organization, its evaluation, and its encouragement become the main functions of the team, its council, and the team leader.

It seems that signing business contracts (agreements) between teams and the administration--that is, introducing the team order, which has enjoyed extensive application in construction, would be excessive in most cases. A continuous production flow and close interaction among many production units are typical of industrial production. Technical resources are assigned to particular production sections, and they are usually subject to change only when they become obsolete or when they are worn out. This is why the order should be used in industry only when the production conditions are close to those witnessed in construction; in other cases lively, efficient interaction between the team and the administration, the airing of mutual grievances, and joint discussion of production issues at work conferences would be sufficient. The relations of the team and administration may be regulated by a statute on the team, written and approved at the enterprise.

Other measures must also be implemented in order to insure unity of the interests of the teams and the labor collective as a whole, and to insure greater efficiency of the team form of labor organization.

Team management must have a democratic foundation. The elected team leader should be a senior experienced, respected worker, promoted from among the common workers and sharing equal rights and responsibilities with them, enjoying no additional material and social blessings (other than extra pay as a team leader). He must be elected and not appointed or released from previous duties, since in this case he would inevitably assume a position above the team, transforming into a representative of the administration. At the same time the team leader must be the true leader of the collective, and not just a formal one, which requires special training. Positive experience has been accumulated in creating schools in which to train team leaders while on leave from production. As an example such a school at the Kaluga Turbine Plant provides a training course of 90 hours. The team leaders receive knowledge in economics, production organization and control, psychology, scientific organization of labor, and labor law. The "collective team leader" principle enjoys its consistent expression in creation of the team councils. They usually include the team leader, the foreman of the production section, the party organizer, the trade union organizer, the Komsomol organizer, and the best producers--5-10 persons in all, depending on the total number of workers. The team council is the authoritative control organ of the primary labor collective, which the collective empowers to resolve the production and social issues associated with the team's activities. In the new conditions, the team councils and the general team meetings become mandatory forms of production control.

Practice shows that creation of team leader councils responsible to shop chiefs and to enterprise directors may serve as a means for unifying the interests of individual teams and the administration. Such councils implement important decisions associated with production improvement. Attention should also be turned to examining the possibility for creating permanent conferences of team council delegates responsible to the chiefs of the technical and economic services of the enterprise administration. Active engineering support to the activity of the teams, based on creative cooperation of members of the primary labor collectives with the engineers and technicians of the enterprise technical and economic services, the signing of contracts for creative cooperation between workers and the engineers and technicians, and so on, should enjoy broad development.

Experience shows that transition to new forms of team organization and stimulation of labor is a complex and rather lengthy process. It requires implementation of preparatory organizational, technological, social, psychological, and other measures. In many cases the floor plans of the sections must be changed, the equipment must be repositioned, the production sections and shops must be specialized in closed production processes, and the production process itself must be transformed into a single team job. Alterations and improvements must be made in the business relationships existing within the enterprise, economic ties between production microsections must be refined, the traditional forms of production planning and control must be amended, team khozraschet must be introduced, new methods for evaluating and stimulating work results must be introduced, and so on. Implementation of measures aimed at creating teams of the new type is associated with breaking down the psychological patterns of not only the laborers but also the engineers, the economists, and executives. This is why the preparatory period often lasts up to a year. It is important in this case for the preparatory work to be done by workers who accept the idea of switching to team labor organization as their own, such that the initiative for altering labor organization and stimulation would proceed not only from the administration but also from the workers.
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EDUCATION

RURAL MIGRANTS SURVEYED AT KISHINEV ENTERPRISES

Kishinev IZVESTIYA AKADEMII NAUK MOLDAVSKOY SSR. SERIYA OBSHCHESTVENNYKH NAUK in Russian No 2, 1980 pp 33-37

[Article by S. M. Dmitrenko: "The Education and Professional Training of Rural Migrants"]

[Text] At the present stage of development of our socialist society, young people have broad opportunities to choose an occupation and to raise their level of education and professional training. Opportunities for occupational and educational growth for young people depend increasingly less on where they live, in urban or rural areas. The life plans of urban and rural young people are drawing closer to one another. We see in this a manifestation of one of the important factors in the process of eradicating differences between the city and the countryside. The orientation of young people from rural areas towards obtaining a higher or secondary special education, towards acquiring worker occupations, is drawing nearer corresponding orientations among urban young people.

The efforts by rural young people to continue their educations and acquire a specialty are actualized, in particular, when they migrate to the large cities which have appropriate academic institutions. Implementation of the universal right proclaimed by the USSR Constitution "to choose one's occupation, type of employment and job in accord with one's calling, abilities, occupational training and education and with consideration of public needs"[1] is closely linked to the migration of rural young people, including pupils, and to the redistribution of the population among urban and rural areas.

Young people moving from rural to urban areas must adapt to the different working and living conditions in the city. This factor cannot but influence the social and occupational self-determination of rural migrants. We therefore consider it appropriate to examine the features of educational and occupational growth among migrating young people.

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1. Article 40, USSR Constitution (Basic Law).

For a majority of young people, moving to the city signifies a change in the character of their labor. This concerns not only young people obtaining a higher or secondary special education, but also those who become workers in industry or other branches of the national economy after moving to the city.

The following types of social dislocations are typical for young men and women moving out of rural areas and becoming urban workers: interclass -- from the kolkhoz peasantry to the working class; intraclass -- from rural workers to urban workers, which signify shifts among working class detachments (ordinarily from agrarian workers to industrial workers) and among working class strata differing in terms of nature and complexity of labor.

Changes in the nature of their occupational training and education unfailingly occur for nearly all rural migrants heading for the cities to study or work, so that rural migration facilitates the educational and occupational growth of young people.

Research we did showed that a majority of the rural migrants (46 percent)[1] cited a desire to continue their studies and raise their educational level as a reason for moving to the city. The reference was not only to working young people. This proportion naturally turned out to be even higher when the entire flow of rural migrants was surveyed, including those enrolling in the day divisions of VUZ's and tekhnikums. Nearly a third of those surveyed hoped to obtain a skilled worker occupation in the city. The data of the study confirm that the occupational-skill level of migrants in the cities actually has risen sharply. Whereas 39.7 percent of migrants who had worked in rural areas had been in unskilled jobs before moving, only 5.1 percent were in such jobs after moving. Young workers easily endure the difficulties of the initial stage of mastering a worker specialty and quickly acquire a first or second skill category.

Young people arriving in the cities have good training and opportunities for acquiring a specialty. Their level of general education is adequately high (9.9 grades). There are practically no young rural migrants with an education below incomplete secondary. Only 15.8 percent of them do not have a general secondary education, and some 9.4 percent of them have a secondary special or incomplete higher education.

Many of those young men and women strive to acquire a worker occupation in the vocational-technical schools. About a third of the migrants turned out to be PTU [vocational-technical school] graduates trained and with an average third skill category. But less than 10 percent of those workers at the enterprises we surveyed had graduated from a PTU.

1. The survey was conducted at these Kishinev enterprises: Kishinev Tractor Plant, "Vibropribor" production association, Garment Factory imeni 23rd CPSU Congress, a packing plant, cannery No 1, "Bukuriya" Confectionery Plant, furniture factory No 1 and "Promstroy" Construction Trust. Questionnaires were given to 922 rural migrants ages 16-30 who had moved to Kishinev in 1967-1977. The survey was conducted in Feb-Mar 1977.

However, in spite of being well-prepared to master an occupation, rural migrants by no means always choose an occupation properly. About two-thirds of the migrants knew little or nothing about the occupation they intended to acquire in the city. It was primarily those who had graduated from vocational-technical schools who were familiar with their occupations, but even then, their choice of a PTU was at the time often made with insufficient substantiation.

In the city, the skill level of the migrants rose gradually. Young people arriving at an enterprise without special training obtained a skill category in the very first year they lived and worked here. The average category of migrants arriving from rural areas less than a year ago was 1.9. The stage of initial occupational training was passed through relatively quickly. In the second year of living in the city, young migrants barely improved their occupational training, inasmuch as they had still not made a final choice of occupation. More than half of them wanted to change it, which is understandable if you take into account the accidental nature of the choice of occupation many of them made and their inadequate understanding of working conditions and the labor content of particular occupations.

Increasing numbers of those persons surveyed in the city gradually make a final choice of occupation, but even after 6-10 years of living in the city, nearly a third of them intended to change it. The occupational self-determination of young people usually ends by age 25, but for rural migrants, this process is not always complete even by age 30: a fourth of those surveyed ages 27-30 stated that they wanted to change their occupations.

Plans to change their occupations retarded the continued occupational advancement of young workers. Over 6-10 years of living and working in the city, the average skill category of rural migrants had increased only 1.1. In spite of the high educational level of the migrants and their initial occupational training, their continued occupational-skill growth occurred quite slowly.

Among young rural migrants there were few people employed at unskilled labor (4.9 percent of those surveyed). These were basically those who had not yet managed to obtain a skill category. But there were also not very many highly skilled migrants (3.4 percent), while such workers comprised 18.6 percent of all Kishinev workers. On average, the skill of the rural migrants was lower than among the bulk of the urban workers. This resulted from a number of factors: the necessity of adapting to urban conditions as a whole, overcoming difficulties in adapting to housing conditions and everyday living conditions, assimilation into the worker collective, and so forth. The desire of the new arrivals to continue their education was in some measure an obstacle to improving their occupations.

The effort to study in higher or secondary academic institutions makes young people think their worker occupation is temporary and uninteresting. Young people trying to get into the VUZ's are less interested in advancing in their occupations, in improving their skill categories.

The orientation of rural migrants towards continuing their education in the VUZ's and tekhnikums is clearly too high. Some 43 percent of those surveyed wanted to study in these academic institutions. Obviously, not all will achieve their desires in this regard. Only 7.2 percent of those surveyed are studying in VUZ's and tekhnikums. The proportion of those enrolled in them does not increase as a function of how long they have lived in the city. Those who have not succeeded in carrying out their plans to study in VUZ's and tekhnikums will subsequently reject them. The percentage of persons planning to obtain an education decreases from 61.4 in the first year of living in the city to 31.2 among those who have already lived there 6-10 years.

Thus, plans regarding continuing education turn out in considerable measure to be unrealized.

It must be noted that the orientation among rural migrants towards continuing their education is even stronger than among city residents of the same sex and age. A survey conducted at "Vibropribor" production association showed that 16.5 percent of those city workers intended to enroll in a VUZ and 21 percent intended to enroll in a tekhnikum; among young workers arriving from rural areas, the figures were 22.2 and 25 percent, respectively.[1]

Some rural migrants moved to the city without having finished their secondary education, hoping to enroll in a school for working young people here. Of these, about seven percent actually finish secondary school in the city. The difficulties of adapting to city conditions and those associated with secondary school lessons often lead to situations in which rural migrants cannot carry the load and return to the village. Among those who decide to return to the village, nearly two-fold more are studying in the city at night school than among those planning to remain in the city. It is obviously more expedient to move to the city with a complete secondary education.

Rural migrants unable to accustom themselves to urban conditions and thinking of returning to the village will be forced to change occupations. Among potential re-emigrants, 62.4 percent plan to work in another occupation and 25.5 percent hope to find work in the same occupation they were employed in in the city. The others do not know what they will be working at when they return to the village, but those few among them who would like to work in the village at the occupation they acquired in the city will probably be able to fulfill that dream.

In the final analysis, given the intensive migration exchange between urban and rural areas, the constant reinforcement of the skilled army of republic

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1. T. L. Konchanin and O. Yu. Mamedov, "Occupational Adaptation in the Vocational Guidance System for Young People," in the collection "Sotsiologicheskiye issledovaniya proforiyentatsii molodezhi" [Sociological Research on Vocational Guidance for Young People], Moscow, 1975; T. L. Konchanin, "Adaptation of Young People to Labor With the Changeover to Universal Secondary Education," Candidate's dissertation abstract, Moscow, 1975.

workers is complex in nature. The long time it takes migrating young people to become occupationally established has a negative effect on the personalities of the migrants, delaying the development of an active lifestyle and postponing social maturity.

Questions of the educational and occupational training of migrating young people obviously deserve more intense scrutiny and the adoption of administrative resolutions in this area. A number of steps are required to accelerate the occupational self-determination of rural migrants. In our opinion, many of the difficulties encountered by migrants beginning to work in the city could be avoided were they to be familiarized in advance (prior to moving) with work in industry and in other branches of the national economy which are being developed primarily in the city. It is known that the vocational guidance of schoolchildren in rural areas gives them an understanding basically of agricultural occupations. There is practically no vocational guidance on industrial and other urban occupations. We consider it appropriate to broaden the range of knowledge used in vocational guidance about occupations for rural schoolchildren, raising it to the level of information available to urban young men and women.

It is important to give rural schoolchildren an idea of the labor content of the basic worker occupations, of working conditions in industry and construction, of what occupations are in the greatest demand. We have in mind not training worker personnel for the city, but only helping rural young people make a well-founded choice of occupation.

Vocational guidance can be set up either as a rural school vocational guidance office or as a corresponding rayon center. Rural vocational guidance center contact with urban enterprises would provide rural schoolchildren with a more adequate understanding of labor in industry and construction, of its advantages and disadvantages. We therefore must facilitate organizing trips to urban enterprises and construction projects.

Properly organized guidance work among rural schoolchildren for worker occupations will prevent uncontrolled growth in migration to the cities. Extensive familiarization of schoolchildren with the labor of workers at urban enterprises will caution those for whom the conditions and rhythm of work at industrial enterprises are not suitable against moving without proper grounds. Vocational guidance in rural areas, combined with vocational recruitment in the cities, will enable us to regulate the volume of rural migration and the structure of migration flows.

The activity of rural vocational guidance centers can keep inadequately prepared people from moving to the cities. This applies foremost to young people who have not finished secondary school, for whom work in the city and study at schools for working young people might prove to be beyond their abilities.

Vocational guidance of rural school graduates on worker occupations definitely restrains their unrealistic efforts to continue studying at secondary and

higher academic institutions. But familiarizing them with a worker occupation broadens their knowledge of the opportunities for social and occupational advancement in the city. Rural vocational guidance centers can recommend to young people who have decided to become workers in industry and construction that they obtain training in the vocational technical education system.

It is important that young people who have already come to work be shown the opportunities for social and occupational advancement at the enterprise. New workers should be made to see that a general secondary education is necessary to their continued production growth and that entrance into a VUZ is not the only path to social advancement. Those who still decide to study must know that this might be done through the enterprise, if they work successfully and conscientiously. These opportunities should be advertised more widely.

Helping each young person find his own place in life without wasting time unnecessarily is an important link in today's demographic policy, which the 25th CPSU Congress noted must be developed.[1] Solving problems of the education and occupational training of migrating young people will facilitate constant reinforcement of the republic's army of workers by skilled young personnel and the fastest possible social and occupational establishment of working young people.

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1. "Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress], Moscow, p 73.

DEMOGRAPHY

UZBEKS NOT EXPECTED TO MIGRATE TO CITIES

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA in Russian No 4, 1980 pp 105-113

[Article by A. I. Ginzburg, "On the Influence of Several National Traditions on Migration from Village to City (based on material from the Moldavian and Uzbek SSRs")]

[Text] The process of urbanization, actively developing in our country, is one of the most complicated of social processes. A very important quantitative indicator of this is the growth of the relative proportion of urban population in all populations of the country, which is occurring as a result of natural, mechanical growth as well as the administrative reorganization of rural population points into urban, and also by virtue of migration from the village to the city, drawing all of the new strata of the rural population into the stream of urban life.

The period between the censuses of 1970 and 1979, the urban population of the USSR grew from 56 to 62 percent. The number of urban residents increased by 27 million, and rural residents decreased by 6.9 million. Therefore, it is quite natural that interest in the problems of migration and in particular migration from village to city has noticeably increased in recent times.

In the study of the urbanization process, different aspects present themselves: economic, social, ethnographic and others. Before the researchers stand the tasks of studying not only the fact of mechanical shift (migration) itself, but also the processes of settling of migrants in conditions that are new to them, and adaptation[1] to city life.

Usually the problem of adaptation is examined in combination with other questions connected with the study of migration processes.[2] Rural migration to cities is being researched most completely by Siberian scholars. These scholars are fundamentally and comprehensively examining migration in connection with labor problems in Siberia.[3]

Another aspect of research contemplates the study of the influence of the city on the migrant, on the change in his values, goals, and psychology. Few studies have been done in this area, despite the interest shown in it by the majority of scientists studying questions of migration.

The intensity of migration from the village to the city varies in different parts of the country. In 1970, least was from the villages in Central Asia (average five persons per thousand per year), and also in Moldavia and the Transcaucasus (less than 10 persons per thousand).[4]

Rural migration to the cities does not correspond, in all parts of the country, to the need for workers in the city. In connection with this, the relocation of rural migrants to the city, and their social and psychological adaptation to new conditions acquires great importance.

There is a great difference between migrants who are partly and fully adapted to the city. In the former group, a change in consciousness, behavior, and orientation may not take place; in the latter group, they take place of necessity. Consequently, if acclimatization can conditionally bring about the first stage of assimilation of the migrant to the city, then adaptation is the second stage, a qualitatively new condition of the migrants. The transition of the migrant from the first stage to the second depends both on objective circumstances connected with his level of education, specialty, knowledge of city life, and on his psychological characteristics, as well as on the circumstances of departure and circumstance of his arrival in the city.

On arrival in the city, the migrant encounters a range of psychological problems, the overcoming of which depends mostly on his adaptive capabilities. The prominent American social psychologist, G. Shibutani, evaluating the significance of psychological moments in social life, writes: "Each personality is characterized by an individual combination of devices which allow him to cope with difficulties, and these devices can be seen as forms of adaptation. In contrast to the concept of 'accommodation,' which relates to the way an organism accomodates itself to the demands of specific situations, adaptation applies to more stable solutions--a well organized means of coping with typical problems, to devices crystallized by means of a successive series of accommodations."[5] The necessity of adaptation to new situations keeps the personality in a state of internal mobilization. Until this condition exists, the migrant feels uncomfortable in the new surroundings. Reorientation and the ability to adapt to new urban conditions depend on a multiplicity of factors. In the present article, we will dwell on several questions connected with the influence of specific national characteristics of morals and manners on migration to the city and on adaptation to it by former rural residents of the native populations[6] in Moldavia and Uzbekistan; we will also examine the influence of the level of education, social-professional affiliation of the migrants, and their knowledge of the Russian language on migrational activity and adaptation of migrants in the city. Statistical information and some materials on ethnosociological research which were conducted from 1972 through 1976 by the section on social-specific research of the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences on the topic "Optimization of Social-Cultural Conditions of Development and Rapprochement of Nations in the USSR"[7] which examined information obtained about migrants, served as sources for the present work.

In both republics, work was conducted in various types of cities. In Moldavia, research was done in Kishinev, capital of the republic, with a population of more than 300,000 people, in comparison with the large cities of Beltsakh and Tiraspol, the medium cities of Kargal and Saronakh, and the "small" cities of Faleshti and Kalarash. In all, 1984 Moldavians from the cities of the republic were interviewed, of whom, as it turned out, 44.9 percent were migrants from the village.

In Uzbekistan, research was carried out in the capital of the republic, Tashkent, comprising 1.5 million residents; in the large cities of Samarkand and Amdizhan; in the medium cities of Angren and Almalyk; and in the "small" city of Katakurgan. In the cities of Uzbekistan 1,271 Uzbekis were interviewed, 13.9 percent of whom were rural migrants.

Interest in the study of the characteristics of migrational activity and adaptation of rural residents in Moldavia and Uzbekistan arose primarily because, in these republics, the rural population far exceeds the median index for the Soviet Union; therefore, if the total rural population of the USSR comprised 38 percent of the total population in 1979, in Uzbekistan it was 59 percent, and in Moldavia 62 percent. But, inspite of the fact that the proportions of rural population in Moldavia and Uzbekistan are almost identical, the rate of growth of their urban population relative to native ethnic nationalities is different. Thus, in Moldavia, for the period 1959 through 1979, the proportion of rural population decreased by 17 percent, and in Uzbekistan by 7 percent (see Table 1)

Statistics and ethnographic research for the last decade form a basis for suggesting that, in the near future, migrational activity by the rural population in Moldavia will increase, and in Uzbekistan, apparently, significant changes are not anticipated.

The indicators of migration differ most of all in the capitals of these republics. Thus, if in Kishinev (the population of which was 356,000 according to the 1970 census of the USSR), for 2 years prior to the census, 4.3 percent of the overall population of the city came from the villages of Moldavia, then in Tashkent, with a population of 1,384,503, 1 percent of the overall population [8] came from the villages of Uzbekistan over the same period.

In Uzbekistan the majority of rural residents, interviewed by us, were quite satisfied with living conditions in the village, and only 5 percent intended to move to the city. Such a low orientation towards mobility is conditioned historically by established native traditions. Overwhelming majority of the Uzbek population tradionally is engaged in agriculture. Cotton production--its primary branch--until recently required a great number of manual workers. Scientific-technical progress, mechanization, and automation of many agricultural processes has significantly curtailed the demand for manual labor. Customary living standards of the rural population, however, have remained stable. It has been extraordinarily difficult for the Uzbek rural population to overcome the psychological barrier connected with native traditions; firstly, with strong ties to family and neighbors, with the large number of

children in Uzbek families, and early marriages. Of considerable significance is and was an insufficient command of the Russian language--the language of inter-ethnic intercourse, a knowledge which is necessary in the urban setting.

In Moldavia, several different conditions occur. There, seasonal work has long been prevalent: the head of the family, and often the older children as well, go to the city to earn a living. Individual families of such workers have with time moved to the city. These workers have brought to the rural setting those urban standards which determined their life in the city. Moldavians, as a rule, have not been bound by association with people of their own nationality. Russians, Ukranians, Jews, and others took up residence in the villages side by side with them, and made it possible for them to become accustomed to a multi-ethnic setting. Thus, the redistribution of rural and urban populations is to some degree conditioned by traditionally established conditions.

For different categories of rural residents unequal migratural activity is charactistic. Unequal also are the reasons which attract them to the city in Moldavia and Uzbekistan. Most active in migration are youth, who are attracted to the city above all by the opportunity of obtaining a middle-specialty or higher education. What concerns social-professional groups is that migration is highest among upper-level executives and specialists with a higher education, for whom the city is attractive primarily as a cultural center. From among the number of specialists with a middle agricultural education, usually only those who intend to obtain a higher education leave for the city. The desire to move to the city is not great among the remaining categories of rural residents. Consequently, potential migrants are most often youth with a comparatively high educational level, for whom there are not always possibilities to continue education or obtain a desired specialty in the village.

Adaptation to urban conditions to a significant measure is made possible by the edu professional orientation, and psychological preparedness of the migrant. Knowledge of the Russian language plays a particularly large role, since the cities of Moldavia and Uzbekistan are multi-ethnic. In Tashkent, for example, in 1970, Uzbeks comprised 37.1 percent of the population, Russians 40.8 percent, Tatars 7.1 percent, Koreans 1.4 percent, Armenians 1.0 percent, Takzhiks 0.6 percent, and so on. In Kishinev, in the same year, Moldavians comprised 37.2 percent of the population, Russians 30.7 percent, Ukrainians 14.2 percent, Bulgarians 1.1 percent, Belorussians 0.7 percent, Gaguazes 0.7 percent, and so on. Essentially, Russian is the common means of communication for the residents of Tashkent and Kishinev.[9]

The ethnic composition of migrants is close to the ethnic structure of the cities, and this is natural: the more widely distributed one or another nationality is within a city, the more easily a migrant of the given nationality adapts to it. The transition of future migrants to the city is made easier if they can find a familiar linguistic setting, count on the help of their relatives in working and living situations and, finally, simply for psychological support in resolving various day-to-day questions, and so forth.

In 1970, in Moldavia, the majority of urban residents of an ethnic population--62.5 percent--had a command of the Russian Language; while at the same time, among the Uzbekis, the proportion having a command of Russian was two times smaller.[10]

The linguistic situation in Moldavia and Uzbekistan is different. In Moldavia, indigenous rural residents have dealings primarily with Russians and Ukranians, and therefore have to some degree a command of Russian or Ukranian. In Uzbekistan many Uzbek villagers live near settlements of other Central Asian nationalities, and Uzbekis usually know those languages which they use with neighboring settlements, in addition to their own. In the villages of Moldavia, 27.5 percent of the Moldavians have Russian as a second language, but in Uzbekistan, a corresponding 7.2 percent of the Uzbekis. Naturally, arriving in an urban setting, Moldavians adapt to it more quickly. Uzbekis usually learn Russian in school, rarely at home. For this reason the level of qualification of Russian language teachers, especially in the ethnic schools of Uzbekistan, and the supply of necessary textbooks to schools are so important.

According to ethnosociological research data, during the first year at work in the city, 45.6 percent of migrants in Moldavia speak most often in Moldavian, 15.3 percent in Russian, and 29.3 percent in both languages; having lived in the city 5 years or more, they already use Russian more often--27.5 percent, and 36.1 percent use both languages. Command of Russian makes it possible for the migrants to contact representatives of other nationalities both at work and in school.

Insufficient knowledge of the Russian language among the Uzbeki rural population makes setting in the urban setting difficult. Only in the case of migration to a city with insignificant numbers of other ethnic groups do language problems not arise for the rural residents. Usually, these are old, so-called small cities. Rural migrants acclimate more easily in such cities where, besides favorable linguistic situation, there exist still other attractive features for the migrant, namely the life style is closer to the rural.

On the other hand, there remains for migrants the situation of cities with a primarily multi-ethnic composition. Thus, in the city of Taraspol, according to the 1970 census, Moldavians comprised only 15.4 percent of the population; a similar situation existed in the Uzbek city of Angren (20 percent Uzbek). The influence of native traditions in such cities is weakened.

The new environment forces migrants to change some norms of behavior and values in accordance with those which exist in a given urban environment. This occurs actively especially in the capitals of republics.

Adaptation to the urban form of life is dependent on many circumstances, in particular the character of production. Much depends on the migrants themselves; their "preparedness" for conditions of urban life, the level of

their education (if they wish to continue study), professional preparation, (if they intend to begin work immediately), and, apparently, on certain individual psychological characteristics, among them the ability to adapt, easily or with difficulty, to new surroundings. It has been observed that if only the production sphere of activity changes, and not the whole mode of life, then adaptation proceeds quickly and almost painlessly.

Adaptation of a migrant to a large or small enterprise, or to large, medium, or small cities, occurs differently. The more limited enter an ethnically homogeneous collective, characteristic of enterprises in small cities; as a rule, rural residents newly arrived in the city, seek work in a familiar ethnic setting. However, a small city rarely has educational institutions, and youth, seeking to continue their education, migrate to medium and especially to large cities, despite the known difficulties of adaptation which await them. Migration processes, in spite of the continuous increase in the standard of living for rural residents, increasingly captures their attention. Rural residents of long-term developing areas are usually attracted to the city not by the desire to increase their material well-being, (there is often more chance of this in the villages), but namely by the urban life style. Rural migrants, including Moldavians and Uzbeks, are attracted to the city by opportunities not available in the villages.

In the group of migrants, who have lived in the city up to 5 years, young people from 18-24 years of age comprise an absolute majority. It is mostly migrants in the age group of 25-49 years who have lived in the city for more than 5 years. According to correlation of sexes both these age groups are almost equal, according to level of education they differ noticeably. In Uzbekistan, migrants of the below-24 age group (61.4 percent) predominate, among them mostly persons up to 18 years old, students in professional-technical schools, technical schools, or VUZ's, and also children who came with their parents. In the first years of life in the city, migrants value most of all their cultural setting. More than 70 percent of Moldavian and 46.2 percent of Uzbeki former rural residents indicated this during an interview. With the passage of time, questions, of lifestyle, material welfare, and wages assume greater significance. Broader choices of career for children are also valued.

In administering ethnosociological questionnaires in Uzbekistan, migrants were asked where they worked after their move to the city. Thirty-seven percent of those questioned were engaged in manual labor, and only 5.9 percent were specialists with higher or middle qualifications. Thirty-six percent began to study immediately in specialized schools after arriving.

Social change occurring in Moldavia and Uzbekstan are reflected in all aspects of life of the population including education level of the former rural residents. Educational level and age are interdependent. Intergenerational differences in educational level are graphically seen in the material from ethnosociological research. (see Table 2).

Persons with middle specialized and higher education make up 44.9 percent of the Moldavian migrants and 38.0 percent of the Uzbek migrants; as a rule, they received it in the city. Parents of the migrants having an education comprise about 3 percent in all. The semiliterate among parents of Moldavian and Uzbeki migrants number about 60 percent.

The professional standing of migrating rural residents also changed. Among those Moldavians and Uzbekis who moved to the cities in the mid-1960's, not less than 50 percent began their careers with unskilled labor. The majority of the migrants of the 70's began to work after receiving a middle or higher specialized education. Under present conditions, the Moldavian and Uzbeki people are rapidly changing their social make-up. These changes are quite clearly reflected in each age group, which finds confirmation in the social status of the group of migrants examined.

Social mobility of contemporary migrants, in comparison with their parents, is also proceeding significantly more rapidly. (see Table 3).

An analysis of the data shows quite clearly that with an increase in educational level of the migrants (in comparison with parents), their social-professional growth results.

Complex and interesting types of activity which occupy migrants more often create in them a feeling of satisfaction with their work. In its turn, satisfaction with work is one of the most important conditions of successful adaptation of migrants in the city. Answering the question as to what was important for them to feel happy, over 70 percent put interesting work in first place. Dissatisfaction with work is one of the indicators of an uncomfortable personal situation. The majority of migrants are satisfied with their work and do not intend to change it, it had satisfied their expectations. The migrants' satisfaction with work is connected to their feeling of participation in the life of the collective. The migrant's happiness with the social life of the collective often indicates his level of adaptation to new working conditions, and the coincidence of his self-estimation with the estimation of his social and working collective. In the first years of life in the city and, correspondingly, the first years work, the migrant does not find his place in the working collective immediately. Gradually adapting to production, he takes an increasingly active part in social life. The rate of professional adaptation, as a rule, is connected with the social activity of the migrant.

A comparative analysis of the data on groups of Moldavian migrants living in the city for up to and more than 5 years showed that the latter group had 22 percent more participation in social life of the collective (55 versus 33 percent) and almost 20 percent satisfied workers. An analogous situation can be seen among Uzbek migrants.

The course of adaptation, when favorably influenced by the coincidence of the migrants' social and professional orientation with their actual work, creates work satisfaction.

The labor activity of migrants in the city in many cases depends on their professional orientation, already established before leaving for the city, and depends on many factors, among them traditional attitudes towards different types of activity, and professional prestige.

Moldavian and Uzbeki rural migrants in turn are drawn essentially into urban professions. However, in each republic there ... the more preferred, of course, their admission changes with time. Thus, if in the '60s in Moldavia, 10.9 percent of all rural arrivals were employed in service enterprises, at the time of inquiry (1972), only 4.2 percent remained there. In Uzbekistan, 77.8 percent of the migrants working in service occupations had been there 10 years or more, and only 16.7 percent less than 5 years. In recent times, the mirgants' choice of professions has become broader. Former rural residents work in all sectors of the national economy, the same as native urban residents. That in the city there are no restrictions on the migrant's choice of work, and that he feels quite adequte in his expectations, facilitates his adaptation to his new surroundings. Adaptation to new working conditions, as a rule, takes place easily, which testifies to the equal opportunities for and claims of both recently arrived migrants and long time city dwellers.

In a multi-ethnic city, migrants deal with people of various nationalities, but their friends are most often found among young people of up to 25 years (in Uzbekistan 70 percent, in Moldavia 71.2 percent). Young people quickly are included in the life of the cities, and adopt those orientations towards cultural activities which are characteristic of the given setting.

All migrants, irrespective of age, maintain contact with their home villages, where they still have close relatives and friends for a long time. Not only ties of family and friendship, but the whole former rural lifestyle and familiar surroundings still attract both Uzbekis and Moldavians back to the village. Therefore, during the initial period, they often return to visit the village: more than half of them more than once a month. Having lived in the city more than 5 years, and become used to the urban lifestyle, adapted to new conditions, found new friends and comrades, they visit the village more rarely (only 33.8 percent of the Moldavian migrants still visit once a month or more). But even after more than 5 years of life in the city, ties with the village are not finally broken: about half visit their homes several times a year.

Migrants, regardless of time lived in the city, still value the rural life highly. About 24 percent of Moldavians living up to 5 years in the city remarked that material conditions were better in the village; many of the migrants find that life in the country is calmer. Nonetheless a majority of the migrants do not wish to leave the city for the village. Thus, in Uzbekistan, 70.2 percent of the migrants consider urban life preferable to the rural.

The most precise indicator of adaptation to new urban conditions is the reluctance of migrants to return to the village. In Moldavia 82.2 percent and in Uzbekistan 78.9 percent do not intend to return to their birthplaces. An increase in migrants' educational level and becoming accustomed to the urban lifestyle promote, to some degree, the desire to remain permanently in the city.

Table 1

Proportion of rural population within the overall population of the republics of Uzbekistan and Moldavia, in percent.*

REGION	YEAR			
	1940	1959	1970	1979
Uzbek SSR	75	66	63	59
Moldavian SSR	87	78	68	61
Total for the country	67	52	44	38

*Compiled from: "National economy of the USSR", M., 1977, p 44; "Population of the USSR according to data of the All-Union census of the population, 1979", M., 1980, pp 4, 8-11.

Table 2

Level of education of rural migrants and their parents, percentage of those questioned.

	Moldavians			Uzbekis		
Level of Education	Migrants, at time of inquiry	Fathers	Mothers	Migrants, at time of inquiry	Fathers	Mothers
Less than 4 years	10.2	53.5	71.5	20.4	53.2	63.2
4-6 years	4.8	16.1	9.2	4.7	7.0	9.4
7-9 years	19.2	12.5	6.4	14.6	11.1	8.8
Terminal middle	19.5	3.7	2.6	20.51	9.4	5.8
Special middle	12.4	2.8	2.2	8.8	3.5	1.8
Continuing higher or higher	32.5	2.1	0.8	29.2	8.2	3.5
Did not respond	1.4	9.3	7.3	1.8	7.6	7.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 3

Social-professional position of rural migrants and their parents, percent of those questioned.

Social-professional Group	Moldavians			Uzbekis		
	Migrants, at time of inquiry	Fathers	Mothers	Migrants, at time of inquiry	Fathers	Mothers
Unskilled or semi-skilled manual labor	15.3	61.5	78.9	39.2	63.7	78.9
Skilled manual labor	26.7	6.5	1.2	21.6	5.8	1.2
White-collar workers	4.6	2.3	1.1	1.8	2.9	2.3
Middle-Level specialists	9.4	6.1	2.2	5.3	2.9	4.1
Higher-Level specialists	33.8	0.9	1.1	28.1	5.8	2.3
Middle executives	2.3	3.1	0.8	3.5	2.3	0.0
Senior executives	0.8	0.9	0.2	0.0	3.5	0.0
Did not respond	7.1	18.7	14.5	0.5	13.1	11.2

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Questions of the replenishment of urban populations and problems of the acclimatization of their rural migrants are still insufficiently studied, especially in terms of social-psychological adaptation. Working out these problems, the examination of conditions conducive to successfully overcoming the period of adaptation, and the mastery of norms of behavior which are new to the migrant, are possible only when the condition of tension of internal mobilization is removed.

Inasmuch as we are proceeding from the fact that the rate of migration is determined by various objective and subjective factors, we will outline the most significant of them. First, there are the historically established social and ethno-demographic characteristics of the population and the characteristics of its distribution in various regions of the country. The second is chiefly psychological conditions and orientations. On the whole, interdependent objective and subjective factors determine the specific particularities of different ethnic groups of mirgants influencing their migrational activity, in this case Moldavians and Uzbekis.

Everyday ethnic traditions of the migrants and their social characteristics, inherent in a people at the present time, for example, level of education, degree of urbanization, professional orientation and so forth, exert influence on the length of time necessary for adaptation to the urban setting. To clarify the roles of objective and subjective factors in migrational processes and in the adaptation of migrants to the city, more concerete comparative research is necessary.

The clarification of the mechanics of migration and conditions conducive to the optimization of these processes is actual.

In this article, only certain questions have been raised, Their further elaboration will permit the general laws of migrational movements, the adaptation of rural residents to the city, and their specific national and regional peculiarities to be brought out.

FOOTNOTES

1. By adaptation we mean the process of becoming accustomed to a new setting, accompanied by a reconstruction of all systems of value conditions and orientations.

2. "Social Researches". M., 1969; V. G. Venzher. Social-economic problems of the industrialization of agricultural production. "Questions of Economics", 1971; V. I. Staroverov. City and Countryside. M., 1972; O.V. Larmin. Methodological problems in the Study of Ethnic Populations. M., 1974; A. G. Antipov. Influence of means of Mass Information on the Professional Orientation of Youth. "Sociological Problems of Public Opinion and Mass Information", M., 1975; V, I. Perevedentsev. Methods of studying the migration of populations. M., 1975; V. I. Staroverov. Social-demographic problems of the countryside. M., 1975; G. A. Slesarev. Demographic processes and the social structure of Socialist society. M., 1978.

3. Zh. A. Zayonchovskaya, V. I. Perevedentsev. Contemporary migration of the population of the Krasnodar kray. Novosibirsk, 1964. Zh. A. Zayonchovskaya. New homes in the cities. M., 1972; D. L. Konstantinovskiy. Regional and national peculiarities of the professional orientation of the youth of Siberia. "Izd. of the Siberian section of the USSR Academy of Sciences", I, 1975; "The contemporary Siberian countryside". Novosibirsk, 1975.

4. V. I. Perevedentsev. Methods of studying the migration of populations. M., 1975, pp 23, 64.

5. G. Shibutani, Social Psychology. M., 1969, p 78

6. By ethnic population we mean the nationality after which the republic is named.

7. See: Yu. V. Arutyunyan. Social-cultural aspects of the development and convergence of nationalities in the USSR. "Sov. Ethnografiya," 1972, No 3; Yu. B. Arutyunyan, V. S. Kondrat'ev. On the conduct of research in Moldavia "Optimization of social-cultural conditions of the development and rapprochement of nations in the USSR"--"Results of field research by the Institute of Ethnography in 1971", M., 1972.

8. "National Economy of the USSR" M., 1977, p 44

9. Results of the All-Union census of the population, 1970", M., 1973, Vol. VII, pp 218, 279.

10. Ibid., pp 207, 278.

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DEMOGRAPHY

DEVELOPMENT OF KAZAKHSTAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE UNDER SOCIALISM

Moscow VOPROSY FILOSOFII in Russian No 8, Aug 80 pp 44-51

[Article by M. S. Azhenov (Alma-Ata): "Development of the Kazakhstan Social Structure Under Socialism"]

[Excerpt] Socialist social structure in the country as a whole and in Kazakhstan in particular evolved during the late 1930's as a result of implementation of Lenin's plan for building socialism: industrialization, collectivization of agriculture, and cultural revolution. By this time, all the exploiter classes and their remnants had been eliminated in the country, as was secured in the 1936 Constitution. The new social structure of our society consisted of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the popular intelligestsia. All elements of the social structure of Soviet society -- classes and social groups -- now became socialist by their very nature. A unitypical social structure evolved in all the union and national republics.

The uniformity of the social structure did not, however, eliminate certain peculiarities of it in the individual republics and regions of our country. Of course, these features did not touch on the essential characteristic of the social structure. Nonetheless, there exist in the different regions and union republics definite difference both quantitative and qualitative in nature which reflect the historical features of the shaping of the social structure of the populations of particular regions, the unique position of that region in the unionwide division of labor.

One feature of the social structure of the population of Kazakhstan is the comparatively higher proportion of the working class in it and the lower proportion of the kolkhoz peasantry as compared to the union as a whole (in 1970, workers comprised 56.7 percent of the entire population and 68.1 percent of the population of Kazakhstan; figures for the kolkhoz peasantry were 20.5 and 8.2 percent, respectively).

Growth in the size of the working class is characteristic of the entire country, especially in the 1960's. But the working class has grown even faster in the republics of the Soviet east. The 1959 and 1970 censuses established

the following indicators for that growth: Kazakh SSR -- from 58.4 to 66.3 percent, Uzbek SSR -- 39.2 to 45.7 percent, Kirghiz SSR -- 39.7 to 53.6 percent, Turkmen SSR -- 37.3 to 41.2 percent, Tajit SSR -- 29.1 to 42.0 percent.[1]

In 1970, the working class comprised 66.3 percent of the entire employed population of the republic. That was the highest indicator in the Union as a whole. Even such industrially developed republics as the RSFSR and the Ukraine had lower proportions of the working class (61.6 and 51.8 percent).

The nationality composition of the republic's working class has been changing, the total number and proportion of Kazakhs having increased significantly over the last 40 years. The total number of Kazakh workers in the republic was 224,000 in 1939; it was 412,000 in 1959 and 823,000 in 1970.[2]

In the 1970's, the rates of quantitative growth in the working class were low in all the Union republics, including Kazakhstan. But nonetheless, more than 70 percent of the employed population is now in the working class, which is approximately 10 percent higher than the unionwide level. But in 1939, the proportion of the working class in the USSR as a whole and in Kazakhstan were nearly identical (33.5 and 33.8 percent). What has caused the outstripping rate of numerical growth in the working class of Kazakhstan?

Over the last 30-40 years, Kazakhstan has moved significantly ahead in terms of development of industry and agriculture.

In describing the state of industrial development of Kazakhstan since the adoption of the first Constitution of the Kazakh Republic in 1937, D. A. Kunayev noted that "literally everything that provided Kazakhstan with an opportunity to become a full-blooded, blossoming republic in an insoluble alliance of Soviet peoples changed.... Figuratively speaking, another 45 new Kazakhstans arose during that time, in terms of overall industrial output. Our industry now produces in eight days what it produced in all of 1937."[3]

The high rates of republic industrial development demanded increasingly more manpower. All union republics, and the Russian Federation in particular, were of enormous assistance in the industrial development of Kazakhstan. One manifestation of this assistance was the sending of experienced, skilled workers from other fraternal republics to the industrial enterprises and new

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1. "Itogi Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya" [Census Results], Moscow, 1973, Vol 5, pp 26-33.

2. See: A. Ishmukhamedov, "Rabochiy klass i nauchno-tekhnicheskaya intelligentsiya" [The Working Class and the Scientific-Technical Intelligentsia], Alma-Ata, 1977, p 51.

3. D. A. Kunayev, "Izbrannyye rechi i stat'i" [Selected Articles and Speeches], Moscow, 1978, p 487.

construction sites of Kazakhstan, which facilitated significantly reinforcing the republic's working class.

Another reason for the rapid increase in the number of people in the republic's working class was the mastering of the Virgin and long-fallow lands of Kazakhstan in the late 1950's. The Virgin Lands was the work and a creation of the entire Soviet people. "Developing the Virgin Lands," writes L. I. Brezhnev in his book "Tselina" [Virgin Lands], "is a great idea of the Communist Party, one whose implementation has helped, thinking in historical terms, instantaneously transform lifeless and wild, but abundant, steppes in the country's east into a region with a developed economy and high cultural standards."[1] Dozens of new sovkhozes were created in the empty expanses of the steppes. The influx of manpower into Kazakhstan from other union republics was at that time a massive undertaking. During just the first two years of mastering the Virgin Lands in Kazakhstan, 350,000 volunteers arrived from other republics. Mastering the Virgin Lands turned out to have a definite influence on changing the quantitative relationships between the classes and social groups in the republic's social structure.

In the 1950's and 1960's, the number of agricultural workers in the republic increased sharply. During those same years, the number of people in the kolkhoz peasantry decreased sharply, which was associated with the intensive transformation of kolkhozes into sovkhozes. The growth in the agrarian working class at the expense of decreasing the number of kolkhoz members was not, however, the main factor in structural changes in the social composition of the countryside. The organization and growth of new sovkhozes in the Virgin Lands and on long-fallow land played a more important role. For example, the total number of sovkhozes in the republic was 262 in 1950, 879 in 1960, 1,864 in 1975, and 2,035 in 1978. The average annual number of sovkhoz workers was 116,000 in 1950, 526,200 in 1960, 892,500 in 1975, and 966,900 in 1978. During the 1950-1978 period, the total number of sovkhoz workers increased more than nine-fold in the republic.[2]

At present, agricultural workers comprise nearly 25 percent of the republic's entire working class (not more than 10-12 percent for the USSR as a whole). Thus, the higher proportion of the working class in the social structure of the Kazakh republic as compared with the unionwide proportion is to be explained first of all by the accelerated growth in the size of the sovkhoz detachment in the working class under the unique conditions of mastering the Virgin Lands and long-fallow land of Kazakhstan due to the influx of manpower from other union republics.

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1. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom. Rechi, privetstviya, stat'i, vospominaniya" [On Lenin's Course. Speeches, Greetings, Articles, Recollections], Moscow, 1979, Vol 7, p 140.

2. "Narodnoye khozyaystvo Kazakhstana v 1978 godu" [Kazakhstan Economy in 1978], Alma-Ata, 1979, p 99.

The past 20 years have been characterized by a reduction in the numbers and proportion of the kolkhoz peasantry throughout the country. In 1959, kolkhoz members comprised 33.3 percent of the employed population of the USSR as a whole, but in 1978 -- only 11.5 percent. But this reduction has been especially noticeable in Kazakhstan: the proportion of kolkhoz members decreased more than four-fold here.

Nonetheless, during the 1970's this process slowed as compared to the 1960's. Whereas in 1959-1969 the proportion of kolkhoz members in the country decreased from 33.3 percent to 15.5 percent, that is, more than two-fold, in the 1970-1978 period it decreased by only four percent. This situation is to be explained by the fact that, first, kolkhozes became large, mechanized, economically strong farms in the 1970's, so their conversion into sovkhozes slowed and nearly stopped in individual regions. Second, the rate of migration of the rural population to the cities dropped somewhat, especially in the country's eastern regions. In Kazakhstan, for example, the total number of migrants had remained practically unchanged over the past decade. As concerns such republics as Moldavia, Tajikistan Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, however, the kolkhoz peasantry comprises quite a large part of their populations.

At the present stage, there are significant differences between urban and rural areas. These differences concern all areas of people's lives: the economy, culture, spiritual development, everyday life, material well-being, and so forth. The city is the economic, cultural and scientific center, and in many other regards it also has an advantage over the countryside. This attracts the rural population, especially young people. There a numerous objective and subjective reasons facilitating the migration of a portion of the population to the cities. According to 1979 Census data, the urban population increased by 27.6 million people over 1970, including 12 million through natural increment and 15.6 million through the conversion of rural centers into urban ones and due to movement of rural residents to the cities. And although the natural population increment in rural areas was 8.7 million in the period between censuses, the rural population did not increase, due to the reasons indicated, but rather decreased by 6.9 million.[1]

The reduction in the proportion of the rural population also occurred in Kazakhstan, although considerably more slowly here than in the country's western republics, but the total rural population in the republic not only did not decrease during the period between the last two censuses, but rather it increased. In 1970, the republic's rural population was 6,471,000 people, but it was 6,764,000 people at the end of 1979. Thus, the annual increment in republic rural population averaged more than 33,000 people during the 1970-1978 period.[2]

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1. See: PRAVDA, 22 April 1979.

2. See: "Itogi Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1970 goda" [1979 Census Results], Vol 5, pp 8-15.

And the social structure of the country's rural population is also somewhat different than in the country's western republics. Whereas the percentage of kolkhoz members in the social structure of the rural population of other republics fluctuates from 35 to 70 percent, in Kazakhstan the kolkhoz peasantry comprises only 15.4 percent of the rural population, and 84.6 percent are workers and employees.[1] Thus, the growth in the rural population of Kazakhstan has occurred primarily in the sovkhoz detachment of the working class.

The slight increase in the rural population of Kazakhstan between the last two censuses is to be explained first of all by the comparatively high natural increment in our republic as compared with the European portion of the Union. For example, the birth rate per 1,000 people for the country as a whole in rural areas was 20.1 in 1978, while it was 28 in Kazakhstan.[2] Second, as statistical data show, the migration of rural residents to the cities was lower in Kazakhstan than for the USSR as a whole. It should be taken into account that Kazakhstan has become one of the basic grain-growing and stockraising regions in the Union. The republic provides the country with more than a billion poods of commodity grain annually. More and more grain sovkhozes are being created, especially in the republic's northern and eastern regions. Worker wages on these sovkhozes are higher than in other regions of the country. Good living conditions, material well-being and favorable conditions for acquiring agricultural specialties, for quality recreation, and so forth, have been created for workers on the Virgin Lands sovkhozes. These circumstances have a certain influence on the growth in the rural population, on securing young people in the villages.

But the growth in the rural population in Kazakhstan probably cannot be explained just by these reasons. Here, we encounter certain trends on a broader scale, the influence of a whole series of factors discovered relative to a broader geographic region. As is known, growth in the total size of the rural population over the past 10 years is characteristic of all Central Asian republics. In individual republics, such as the Tajik SSR for example, there has even been growth in the proportion of the rural population and a reduction in the proportion of the urban population. These demographic phenomena unquestionably demand additional research.

In Kazakhstan, as in every union republic, the size of the intelligentsia is growing. In Kazakhstan, the intelligentsia was formed during the years of building socialism. In prerevolutionary Kazakhstan, one very rarely encountered people with a higher or secondary special education, especially among the Kazakhs. The backward social structure of prerevolutionary Kazakhstan totally lacked such strata of the intelligestsia as engineers, technicians and scientists. Literacy among the Kazakhs was less than two percent.

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1. See: "Itogi Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1970 goda" [Results of the 1970 Census], Vol 5, pp 8-15.
2. See: "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1978 godu" [USSR National Economy in 1978], Moscow, 1979, p 25.

The establishment of Soviet power in Kazakhstan was the start of a genuine cultural revolution, the start of the formation of a socialist people's intelligentsia. Literacy among the Kazakh population had already risen to 3.1 percent in 1920; in 1926 it had reached 10 percent, and by 1930 -- 37 percent.[1]

In the 1930's, a number of higher and secondary academic institutions had been created in Kazakhstan and were training numerous specialists in various branches of the national economy, science and culture.

In the post-war years, all the basic occupational detachments of the intelligestsia grew quite rapidly in the republic. In 1940, the total size of the intelligentsia, plus employees, in the republic was 283,000 people, and in 1978 -- 1,647,000, that is, an increase of nearly six-fold during those years. The overwhelming majority of those employed at mental labor are people with higher or secondary special educations, that is, specialists with degrees. In 1970, 340,200 degree-holding specialists with higher or secondary special educations worked in the republic national economy, and in 1978 -- 1,207,000.

Under present conditions, growth in the number of people with higher or secondary special educations is an objective law connected with the development of the scientific and technical revolution and with the intellectualization of labor activity. Growth in the number of people of intellectual labor testifies to the continuous growth in the potential of developed socialism. In the 1979-1980 academic year, 54 higher and 223 secondary special academic institutions were functioning in Kazakhstan, training 251,400 VUZ students and 260,200 tekhnikum students. Upwards of 100,000 degree-holding specialists enter the republic national economy annually from the VUZ's and tekhnikums.

Profound qualitative changes are currently occurring in the development of the social structure of Soviet society. Qualitative changes in the social groups of our society are understood to mean first of all their transition to a higher degree of qualitative maturity.

"The qualitative maturity of social groups" is quite a broad and complex concept which includes all components of a qualitative description of the representatives of a particular social group: skill, occupational training, level of education and culture, material well-being, level of consciousness, sociopolitical activeness, and so on.

The modern socialist national economy is experiencing a high demand for skilled workers. Growth in the skill of the working class is the order of the day.

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1. See: D. A. Kunayev, "Sovetskiy Kazakhstan" [Soviet Kazakhstan], Moscow, 1978, p 95.

As a whole, the skill level of the Kazakhstan working class lags somewhat behind the unionwide level. This is evidently to be explained by the fact that one-fourth of the republic's working class are agricultural workers, who thus far have a lower skill level than workers in industry, transport, construction and other industrial branches of the national economy.

At the same time, the data from specific sociological research show that the educational level of workers in individual regions of Kazakhstan is higher than the average indicator for the Union. According to sociological research data, the average level of education of workers at various industrial and construction enterprises in Alma-Ata in 1976 fluctuated from 9.0 to 9.4 grades. The average level of education of workers at the Karaganda Metallurgical Combine in 1976 was 9.7 grades, at the Kustanay Worsteds Combine -- 9.5, and at the Chimkent Lead Plant -- 9.3 grades.[1]

An important factor determining cultural growth in individual social strata is the shaping of subjective stimuli for introducing representatives of a given social stratum to culture (understanding the occupational, economic and sociopolitical necessity of education, ideological-psychological directions to master culture) and the inclusion of these aims in the system of individual needs. Sociological research done by R. A. Klesheva with Karaganda workers revealed that 45 percent of those surveyed linked higher education with growth in the worker's production-technical skills, opening up opportunities for occupational advancement, a better skill category, acquiring a new specialty (12.1 percent), improving their vocational-technical education (16 percent), servicing complex and more interesting equipment (16.8 percent), and 23 percent of those surveyed think that raising one's overall educational level facilitates qualitative change in the worker's status, as it enables him to participate in managing production, in public work, in technical creativity.

The sociopolitical activeness of the working class is growing in socialist society. There is not one sphere of sociopolitical life in Soviet society in which the working class has not played a decisive role. This is expressed especially vividly in worker participation in managing the state and production, in the work of public organizations. Given the nationwide state, the working class remains the leading political force. This is borne out by the growth in the proportion of the working class in the representative organs of state power, in the Soviets. Workers comprised 59.2 percent of the deputies of the local Soviets elected in Kazakhstan on 24 February 1980 and 43.3 percent of the deputies to the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet, also elected then.

However, the working class is nonhomogeneous in terms of its social structure. There are in the working class strata and groups which are advanced, developed and less-developed in terms of occupational-cultural, political

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1. See: "Nauchno-tekhnicheskaya revolyutsiya i dukhovnyy mir cheloveka" [The Scientific and Technical Revolution and the Spiritual World of Man], Alma-Ata, 1979, p 138.

and social level. Gradual elevation of the backward strata of the workers to the level of the leading strata is a law of development of the modern Soviet working class. This process is characterized by an acceleration of rates and leads to an increasingly qualitative improvement in the composition of the working class.

Profound qualitative changes are also occurring in the kolkhoz peasantry and in the intelligentsia, among employees. In Kazakhstan, the numbers and proportions of kolkhoz members in the social structure of society are not high, but they play an essential role in the economic, sociopolitical and cultural life of the republic. In agriculture, many new occupations associated with mechanized labor have appeared as scientific and technical progress has developed, and the reverse is true: a number of manual-labor occupations have disappeared and are disappearing. The numbers of tractor and vehicle drivers, combine operators and other kolkhoz members associated with operating machinery have increased significantly. In the main, Kazakhstan kolkhozes are economically powerful agricultural enterprises in which people work at the most diverse occupations. At present, more than 20 percent of all kolkhoz members are machine operators, tractor and vehicle drivers and combine operators. The educational level of agricultural laborers is constantly rising.

What motives do kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers have for acquiring an education? According to sociological research data from surveys done at a number of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, 22.2 percent of those surveyed indicated a desire to improve their skills, 17.2 percent wanted to know more, 12.9 percent were trying not to fall behind others, 6.2 percent intended to enroll in a VUZ or tekhnikum, eight percent indicated production requirements, five percent indicated the public opinion of the collective, and so forth. Only 7.2 percent indicated that they were prompted to improve their education as a way to increase their wages.[1]

As we see, the bulk of the agricultural laborers view acquiring an education as a social and spiritual value. The Soviet countryside has made a very large leap, from illiteracy to the heights, in the field of education. This especially applies to the Kazakh auls [mountain villages], where 60 years ago it was hard to find people who knew how to read and write. The republic's villages and auls now have quite a few people with higher or secondary special education. In 1977, some 3,800 people with higher educations and 8,200 with secondary special educations were working on 404 republic

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1. See: S. N. Soskin, "Sotsial'naya struktura sela i narodnoye obrazovaniye" [Village Social Structure and Public Education], Alma-Ata, 1979. A comparison of these data with corresponding data given above for the working class of Kazakhstan reveals certain differences in the actual status, both from the viewpoint of the system of objective production, social and cultural-personal conditions of their daily lives, and from the viewpoint of the subjective aims being actualized in this everyday living and shaping concepts of "ideal" conditions for effecting it.

kolkhozes.[1] This means that on average, each republic kolkhoz accounts for 33 people with higher or secondary special educations.

The qualitative composition of the intelligentsia is improving. This is expressed in growth in the general and special knowledge of specialists, in growth in their educational level, in a strengthening of the creative aspects of their labor, in increased sociopolitical and labor activeness, increased communist consciousness, and so on. The intelligentsia has an enormous influence on growth in the educational level of the working class and kolkhoz peasantry; it facilitates eradicating important differences in the levels of education of the social groups. According to data from sociological research done by the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Philosophy and Law at individual Alma-Ata enterprises, the average level of education of engineering-technical and ordinary workers drew considerably closer during the 10 years from 1966 to 1975. For example, the average level of education of a worker at the Alma-Ata House-Building Combine in 1966 was 7.8 grades and for engineering-technical workers -- 11.4 grades, but in 1975 the figures were nine grades and 11.8 grades, respectively. In 1966, the gap between engineering-technical and ordinary workers in terms of educational level was 3.6 grades, but in 1975 -- 2.8 grades.

The sociopolitical activeness of the intelligentsia and employees is growing. The role of degree-holding specialists in party and state organs, in trade unions and other public organizations, is large. Of the 125,622 deputies elected to the republic's local Soviets in 1980, 39,683 were representatives of the intelligentsia: scientists, engineers, physicians, teachers, agricultural specialists and others. One-third of the membership in the republic party organization also represents the intelligentsia. The republic intelligestsia takes a most active part in the work of the primary party, trade-union, Komsomol and other public organizations.

The Kazakhstan intelligentsia is multinational. Most numerous are the Russian intelligestsia, then the Kazakhs and other nationalities. The proportion of Kazakhs in the intelligentsia is growing faster than that of representatives of other nations. For example, the number of Kazakhs among specialists with a higher education increased from 30,200 to 155,400 during the 1960-1977 period, that is, more than five-fold; the number of Russians increased 3.3-fold, Ukrainians -- 2.6-fold, and so on.[2]

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1. "Narodnoye khozyaystvo Kazakhstana v 1977 godu" [Kazakhstan National Economy in 1977], Alma-Ata, 1978, p 140.

2. See: "Narodnoye khozyaystvo Kazakhstana v 1977 godu," p 141.

DEMOGRAPHY

FACTORS AFFECTING LIFESPAN ANALYZED

Moscow VOPROSY EKONOMIKI in Russian No 7, Jul 1980 pp 150-152

[Review by A. Kvasha and I. Kalinyuk of the book: "Evolyutsiya Prodolzhitel'nosti Zhizni", by B.Ts. Urlanis, Izdatel'stvo "Statistika", 1978, 309 pages]

[Text] The goal of this book is to elucidate ways to extend the human lifespan. Consequently, the book is of interest to every reader. Its contents can be divided into three conventional parts. The first part, consisting of chapters two and three, deals with the evolution proper of the human lifespan from the "prehistoric era" to the present time.

Of greatest interest here, from a demographer's viewpoint, is the analysis of the human lifespan in modern times. In this respect, for practically the first time in demographic literature, a detailed study is made of mortality within the process of socio-economic evolution, the dynamic range of lifespans in countries having different social orders is outlined, and the current situation in socialist countries is described in detail. The author presents computations of premature deathrates for the adult population of virtually every country in the world. These computations indicate what reserves mankind has at its disposal to extend peoples' lifespans.

The first section of the monograph is an original introduction to its main part, in which basic reasons, causes, and factors influencing the human lifespan are examined. The deathrate of a population is determined by most diverse factors classified as natural and social, which facilitates understanding the significance of each factor affecting the deathrate. In his analysis of these factors, B. Urlanis isolates three aspects: conditions, the factor itself, and the sub-factor. Based upon the proposed method, he advances a diagram which provides a general concept of the main elements of the causal link determing lifespan or expectancy.

The author's approach in studying the causes and factors relating to reduced birth rates is well known. He employs approximately the same approach in his study of mortality, but the model itself is considerably expanded and provides for demonstrating qualitatively the influence of each factor upon the average lifespan value. This allows the sociological policy generally and the demographic policy specifically, to be conducted in such a way as to achieve maximum effect for each unit exponded (quote, p. 83). Having collected comprehensive statistical materials over and extended period of time, he interprets the significance of each factor in the changing of deathrates.

Researching the class differences in mortality levels merits particular attention. Data is provided here which demonstrates the relationship of the deathrate and educational level and income level of the population. The data is interesting also which describes childhood mortality in different social groups. The factors studied here enable a direction to be defined for demographic policy which not only includes stimulating an increase in the birthrate, but also preservation of life. This plan also examines differences in deathrate levels for males and females. Here, B. Urlanis outlines in detail the history and causes underlying the advent of the problem of "super-mortality rates in males" and its consequences. Thorough analysis is devoted in the book to deathrate dependence upon ethnic and geographical factors. The author notes that despite geographical and climatic factors, the decisive significance remains with social and economic factors.

A special section of the work is devoted to describing mortality causes in the population. From epoch to epoch, the evolution of these causes is gradually defined for practically every country in the world. Important here are the calculations for the number of deaths in the world in 1975, distributed among countries with differing levels of economic development. These data show the number of people throughout the world dying by specific cause of death which might be eliminated by conducting appropriate social and economic programs.

B. Urlanis demonstrates in detail the link of death causes and mortality factors, i.e., to what degree a given cause is occasioned by specific factors. Overall, the author was successful in completing this complex task. Particularly convincing is the data characterizing the influence of such factors as the level of medical service, hunger, unfavorable working conditions, and alcoholism and smoking upon the development of an entire series of diseases leading to an increase in mortality for the populace. Although a lack of requisite statistical materials precluded establishing fully the role of certain factors in causes of death, nevertheless, his calculations provided in the comprehensive table (p. 233), provide a basis to outline measures required to eliminate or signficantly reduce mortality due to certain causes.

In the methodological respect, we consider it important to note the monograph's precise division of factors and causes of death. It allows one to see which factors are considered leading factors and the role they play in the development of the population's mortality rate. Such a qualtitative evaluation is provided in the book's final section--"Ways To Increase Lifespan", which allows also for the formulation of ways to reduce mortality rates through the elimination of the effect of one factor or another. Using as a base for computation data on the average lifespan in Sweden, where mortality rates are lowest, B. Urlanis uses 68 years for women and 96 years for men as the biological lifespan or expectancy. Proceeding from these data, he constructs the table of shortage years (failure to achieve the average). The calculations obtained are interesting, as they demonstrate on the average, by how many years modern man fails to attain a given age as the result of "the imperfection of modern society".

The author constructs a system of "viability indicators", operating upon the average actual and biological lifespans and the relationships among them. The coefficients calculated describe actual reserves for increasing lifespans. These calculations, impinging upon the population's mortality, are presented to outline the actual long term outlook for the evolution of lifespans not for specific peoples, for whom "ideal" social and economic living conditions exist, but to extend the lifespan of

all of mankind, for whom those conditions can and must be created. The author critically evaluates a series of prognoses with no allowance for the existing situation, and proposes formulating realistic prognoses satisfying necessary living requirements for the population.

In proposing the formulation of a more realistic prognosis for the lives of the population, the author proposed a prognosis version, in our view, no less controversial. In examining the prospects for reducing mortality, he considers that the successes of medical science in the upcoming decade will provide for a significant increase in the average lifespan. However, even if by the year 2000 means will be found to combat cardio-vascular diseases and the problem of cancer overcome, it is rather difficult to expect widespread effects stemming from the introduction of medical achievements, considering the socio-economic causal relationships affecting mortality processes and the actual age structure of the population.

The author suggests that demographic factors do not influence mortality rates. Considering age and sex to be biological factors, in his study of population mortality, he discounts their influence as purely demographic factors. This to us is open to discussion. Age and sex are biological factors of man if one speaks of human mortality as a biological phenomenon. But the subject of demography--is a totality of people, and if the topic being discussed is the measurement of the mortality rate for a group of people united by sex-age characteristics, then it appears to us that this is a demographic characterization of the population. Mortality, writes B. Urlanis, is a phenomenon relating not to one "individual, but to a given population of individuals, the populace overall, or a specific segment of it" (p. 77). Then, with similar equal conditions, the level or frequency of mortality (deathrate) as quantitative characteristics of the phenomenon will be different, if the segment of the population differs in demographic traits. Consequently, a population's demographic characteristics influence its mortality rates. Inasmuch as the monograph is devoted to studying the mortality of the entire population, this aspect must be considered in the analysis of population mortality.

Overall, the work conducted by the author and his erudition have made the book interesting for a wide circle of readers and for specialists as well, as the basic directions for demographic policy have been rather precisely pointed out.

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